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The Tyger's Heart Wrapt in a Player's Hide

Shakspere and the Puritans

Ben Jonson, Patriarch of Speech Study

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The Shakespeare Association of America aims to unite all the lovers of the poet and to encourage and enlarge the widespread interest in his works. It will serve as a means of communication in the Shakesperian world, reporting what is being done in his honor or service, whether on the stage or in the schoolroom, in club or in university. Its purpose includes co-operation in every enterprise that will be helpful to a knowledge of the man and his works, whether scholarly, educational, or theatrical.

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Other matters relating to the work of the Association should be referred to the Secretary.

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SHAKSPERE AND HIS CONTEMPORARIES

(A Classified Bibliography for 1937)
Compiled by
SAMUEL A. TANNENBAUM

The following bibliography, based on an examination of the contents of more than 1,400 periodicals and hundreds of books, is a continuation of that published in this BULLETIN in January, 1937. Perfunctory notices of books, blurbs, and reviews which contribute nothing new, have not been noted. The names of female writers are distinguished by a colon (instead of a period) after the initial letter of the baptismal name. The titles of books and pamphlets are printed in italics. If no year is mentioned in connection with an item, '1937' is to be understood. Reviews of books are listed (without a preceding number), without title, immediately after the books themselves. The discussion of a book is indicated by printing the title within single quotes. The abbreviations employed herein, and what they stand for, follow herewith:

A	—Anglia
Abstr.	—Abstract
Amer.	—American
Archiv	—Archiv f. d. Studium d. neueren Sprachen
B	—Bulletin
bib.	—bibliography
BJRL	—Bulletin of the John Rylands Library
Cambr.	—Cambridge
comp.	—compiler
Col.	—Columbia
CR	—Contemporary Review
CUP	—Cambridge University Press
Diss.	—Dissertation
dt.	—deutsch, deutscher, etc.
ed., edd.	—editor, editors
ELH	—Journal of English Literary History
Eliz'n	—Elizabethan
Engl.	—English, Englische
facs., facss.	—facsimile, facsimiles
f	—für
fr	—from
GRM	—Germanisch - Romanische Monatschrift
HUP	—Harvard University Press
ils, illusts.	—illustrated, illustrations
J	—Journal
JEGP	—Journal of English and Germanic Philology
Libr	—Library
Lit	—Literature
Ln	—London.
M	—Magazine
MLN	—Modern Language Notes
MLR	—Modern Language Review
Mo	—Monthly
MP	—Modern Philology
NQ	—Notes and Queries
OUP	—Oxford University Press
P	—Press
PMLA	—Publications of the Modern Language Ass'n.
port	—portrait
PQ	—Philological Quarterly
Q	—Quarterly.
R	—Review, Revue
RES	—Review of English Studies
SAB	—Shakespeare Ass'n Bulletin
SAH	—Stratford Herald
Sat.	—Saturday
Sh	—Shakespeare, Shakspere
Shn	—Shaksperian
SJ	—Shakespeare Jahrbuch
SP	—Studies in Philology
RCC	—Revue des Cours et Conférences
TAM	—Theatre Arts Monthly
TLS	—Times Literary Supplement (Ln)
tr.	—translator
Tr	—Transactions
u.	— und
U	—University
UP	—University Press
Xn	—Christian

A name and title-index will be published in the April issue of the BULLETIN. The compiler's best thanks are due to the publishers, libraries, and personal friends who have assisted him in one way or another in making this compilation. Among the last he is especially indebted to his devoted friend William B. Kempling.

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10148. 'To repent in sack' (*2 H4*, I, ii, 222).—M. P. Tilley.—SAB, 12: 55-56, Jan.

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10150. An early 18th-century note on Falstaff.—R. W. Babcock.—PQ, 16: 84-85, Jan.

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10154. Sh's *H4* u. d. Geschichtsdrama in England.—R. Petsch.—SJ, 73: 109-30.

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10155. A pun in *H5*?—A. F. Pollard.—TLS, p. 256 (Apr. 3).

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10161. *JC* and T. Elyot's *Governour*.—D. Bush.—MLN, 52: 407-08, June.

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10163. *JC* in modern dress in N. Y.—B. Atkinson; N. Y. Times, Nov. 12, p. 26; Nov. 28, p. 1, Sec xi.—R. Lockridge; N. Y. Sun, Nov. 12, p. 28.—Time, 30: 43 (Nov. 22), port.

10164. La représentation de *JC* à l'Atelier.—M. L. Cazamian.—Etude Anglaises, 1: 182-83, Mar.

10165. A modernized production of *JC*.—S. Young; New Republic, 93: 101-02 (Dec. 1).—A. MacLeish; Nation, 145: 617 (Dec. 4).—G. Vernon; Commonweal, 27: 160 (Dec. 3).—E. Taggard; Scholastic, 31: 6-7 (Dec. 11).—J. W. Krutch; Nation, 145: 594-95 (Nov. 27).

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King John *(KJ)*

10166. J. D. Wilson's ed. of *KJ*.—TLS, Jan. 16, p. 40.—NQ, 172: 71-72, Jan. 23.—G. B. Harrison; MLR, 32: 455-56, July.—L. L. Schücking; Beiblatt, 48: 97-99, Apr.—W. Keller; SJ, 73: 151-52.

King Lear *(KL)*

10167. 'KL'.—P. F. van Draat.—Anglia, 61: 177-85, Jan.

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10169. B. A. P. Van Dam's *The Text of 'KL'*.—M: Doran.—MP, 34: 430-33, May.

10170. *Stenogr. Studien zu 'KL'*. (Diss.). —O. Stössel.—München, pp. 80.

10171. Goneril.—L. L. Schücking.—Die neueren Sprachen (no. 10), 45: 413.

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Love's Labor's Lost (*LLL*)

10172. ''Twill be thine another day.'—M. P. Tilley.—MLN, 52: 394-97, June.

10173. F: A. Yates' *A study of 'LLL'*.—C. J. Sisson.—J. Crofts; English (no. 5), 1: 443-44.—W. Keller; SJ, 73: 161-62.

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Macbeth *(M)*

10173a. *M* in Paris.—M. M. du Gard.—Les Nouvelles Littéraires, July 3, p. 8.

10174. A scene from *M* at Antioch College [photo].—TAM, 21: 535, July.

10175. *The Thane of Cawdor: A Detective Study of 'M.'*—D. Baird.—Ln: OUP, pp. xii, 106; 3 ils, diagrams, $2.—TLS, Aug. 14, p. 588.

10176. *M.*—M. Castelain, ed.—Paris, pp. xiv, 164.

10177. Notes on R. Strauss's Tone Poem *'M'*.—L. Gilman.—Stadium Concerts R, Aug. 1, pp. 9-13.

10178. Deutschbein's *Sh's 'M'*.—J. Speck. —Archiv, 117: 227-29, June.—M. Heuer; Beiblatt, 48: 100-05, Apr.

10179. *M* at Sloane School.—English (no. 5), 1: 431-32 .

10180. Some doubtful points in *M.*—D. Baird.—NQ, 173: 224, Sept. 25.

10181. *M* as a morality.—E. R. Hunter.—SAB, 12: 217-35, Oct.

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Measure for Measure *(MM)*

10182. The prenzie [read 'peregrin'] Angelo.—W. P. Barrett.—TLS, Jan. 16, p. 44.

10183. 'All-bridling law' in II, iv, 94.—M. Praz.—TLS, Feb. 13, p. 111.

10184. Licio.—R. Lawson.—Engl Studies, 19: 259-64, Dec.

10184a. *The Jacobean Sh & 'MM.'*—R. W. Chambers.—OUP, pp. 60.

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Merchant of Venice (*MV*)

10185. Interpreting *MV* to youth.—M. H. Malm.—English J, 26: 317-19, Apr.

10186. Die gerichtliche Entscheidung in *MV.*—E. Weigelin.—Die neueren Sprachen, 45: 204-08, May.

10187. Bassanio, the Eliz'n lover.—H: P. Pettigrew.—PQ, 16: 296-306, July.

10188. Shylock.—B. Martin.—Dalhousie R, 17: 333-38, Oct.

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Merry Wives of Windsor *(MW)*

10189. The realism of the merry wives. —E: J. Haller.—W. Va. Univ'y B, May, pp. 32-38.

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10192. 'Ragged' as a monosyllable.—L. H. M. Strachan; J. E. Morris.—NQ, 173: 246 (Oct. 2), 266 (Oct. 9).

10193. Two notes on *MW.*—H. W. Crundell.—NQ, 173: 112-13, Aug. 14.

10194. R. Shallow, esq., J. P.—J. W. Draper.—Neuphilol. Mitteilungen, 38: 257-69.
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Mids. Night's Dream *(MND)*

10195. Eine Inszenierung von *MND.*—Theater d Welt, 1: 181-85, Mar., ils.
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Much Ado *(MA)*

10196. Sh's imagery in *MA.* [MS. thesis].—L: M. Gallaher.—In U of Texas libr.
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10197. W. Huston's *O.*—J. B. Brown; N. Y. Post, Jan. 7, p. 18.—B. Mantle; Daily News, Jan. 8, p. 53.—R. Lockridge; N. Y. Sun, Jan. 7, p. 18.—D. Gilbert; N. Y. World-Telegram, Jan. 7, p. 18.—J. B. Atkinson; N. Y. Times, Jan. 7, p. 16.—S. Young; New Republic, 89: 385, Jan. 27.

10198. The wronged Iago.—S. A. Tannenbaum.—SAB, 12: 57-62, Jan.

10199. *O.* [Text, glossary, notes].—M. Morozov, ed.—Moscow, 1936, pp. 183, port. (Engl. text).

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THE TYGER'S HEART WRAPT IN A PLAYER'S HIDE

By THOMAS H. MCNEAL

THE direct cause of Robert Greene's quarrel with Shakspere has become so clouded by time that it is never likely, at this late date, to be brought into a focus clear enough for thorough examination. The evidence seems to suggest that envy and malice, which may or may not have been known to the younger writer, had been gnawing at Greene's heart for some time before he composed the now notorious passage in *A Groatsworth of Wit*. Certainly, with the publication of that work, on September 20, 1592, Shakspere and everyone else in London who could read knew how Greene felt about him, whatever it was that had aroused the dying dramatist's anger:

> "Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart crowe beautified with our feathers that with his *Tyger's heart wrapt in a Player's hide* supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank verse as the best of you; and being an absolute *Johannes fac totum,* is in his own conceit the onely Shake-scene in a countrey."

I will not attempt to re-state the conclusions that scholars have drawn from the little evidence offered in this passage. But what appears to have been even more irritating to Greene than Shakspere's connection with the *Henry* play has, I believe, never been given its proper importance. Twenty-eight year old Shakspere, according to Greene, had had his head turned—was "feeling his oats." He was "in his own conceit the onely Shakes-scene in a country," going about town comparing himself with his betters. Perhaps he was already making sport of the rantings and ravings of Elizabethan tragedy, of the absurdities of stage mechanics, and of the Petrarchan and "love-vision" artificialities in the poetry of his day—deficiencies to be lightly satirized in *A Midsummer Night's Dream,* a comedy he was probably at work on just at this time.

Too often it has been hinted that Shakspere's reaction to Greene's bitter words was kindly and magnanimous. But

what young man likes to have a bad pun hurled vindictively back into his own teeth? And what young man likes to be advertised in print as a braggart? The antagonist, however, had passed to his slim reward seventeen days before his insult appeared. One cannot fight with the dead. The editor of the vile work was still alive, however, and the ire of our young man reached his ears. Henry Chettle, who had seen the *Groatsworth* into print after Greene's death, felt no responsibility about the matter. The words had been Greene's, not his. But he came to see that something must be done, and made a formal apology, in December, in the preface to his *Kind Heart's Dream.*

The unfortunate circumstance, let us suppose, was now considered closed by everyone—except Shakspere. The wound left by Greene's dart was not to be healed with the salve of flattery; and the rest of this paper is an attempt to reveal how the thought of Greene and his works continued to rankle in Shakspere's heart for some time after the *Groatsworth* had been published.

On October 8, 1593, an Elizabethan miscellany called *The Phoenix Nest,* was entered at the Stationer's Hall. Among other poems was one, "A most rare, and excellent Dreame, learnedly set down by a worthy Gentleman, a brave Scholler, and M. of Artes of both Vniversities." The poem is properly laid at Greene's door. In a note on it in his recent edition of the miscellany, Dr. Hyder E. Rollins states the general opinion of scholars regarding Greene's authorship of the piece:

> This poem is generally attributed to Greene because he was an M.A. of Cambridge (1583) and of Oxford (1588)—a fact to which the title-pages of his books often bear witness. . . . It seems certain that the title of the poem was meant to suggest Greene, and probably, judging from the poem itself (which in many ways resembles *A Maidens Dreame* . . . 1591, . . . "by Robert Green Master of Arts"), that he actually was the author. Such have been the conclusions of almost every scholar who has touched on *The Phoenix Nest.*[1]

Probably the two poems—*A Maidens Dreame* and *A most Rare Dreame*—were written at about the same time, since

[1] *The Phoenix Nest,* Harvard University Press, 1931, p. 144, n. 39, 2.

one appears the year before Greene's death and the other the year after. The last work may have been found among Greene's papers, and sold or given to the printers of *The Phoenix Nest.* "We know that certain papers of Greene's were in the hands of printers after his death in the previous year."[2]

Professor Rollins's statement that *A Most Rare Dreame* "in many ways resembles *A Maidens Dreame*" evidently takes into consideration the facts that the poems are both composed in rime royal, that they are built upon the framework of the old love-vision or dream-poem, that they are long, and that they were not written in connection with the romances—all of which peculiarities set it apart from the rest of Greene's verse.

A Most Rare Dream is a work clearly modeled in the school of the love-vision. Actuality finds no home in it, and its complete artificiality, with nothing at all in life to tie on to, leaves it merely pretty, without a hint of profundity. Present is the sleepless, despairing lover, the coming of sleep, the meeting of lovers in a dream, a list of the lady's charms, a final awakening. J. C. Jordan's summary of the poem gives about all that need be known:

> The poem opens with an extended discussion of the cause of dreams, after the mediæval manner. Then follows the visit of a lady to her sleeping lover. The lover (in the first person) describes her beauties and tells of his restless and hopeless state. The lady and he discuss the subject of love at some length. She is firm in her denials, and he faints away in a swoon. Thereupon she, fearing that he is dead, relents; and the lover comes back to life and the waking state.[3]

The piece is a fine example of Shakspere's pet aversion during those early years that must have encompassed 1593. Like many another young poet at the beginning of a career, he was in revolt against the art standards of his times. Two of his prejudices are of especial interest here: a distrust of the sighing lover and denying lady *motif* present in Elizabethan poetry; and a disgust for the artificial listing of a lady's charms, which grew almost inevitably out of the first

[2] J. C. Jordan, *Robert Greene,* Columbia University Press, 1915, p. 142.
[3] *Ibid.,* p. 143.

situation. Such ideas were rife in the imitations of the mediæval love-vision, well illustrated by Greene in *A Most Rare Dreame* and in the more popular Petrarchan sonnets that were in full flower by the early 90's.

The unreality of the *motifs* comes in for a lashing in *Sonnets XXI* and *CXXX,* pieces probably belonging in time, because of these ideas expressed in them, to the dramatic period of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Romeo and Juliet.* Sir Sidney Lee comments upon the satire in the two sonnets as follows:

> Similarly in *Sonnet CXXX* . . . the poet satirises the conventional lists of precious stones, metals, and flowers, to which the osnnetteers likened their mistresses' features. It was not the only time that Shakespeare deprecated the sonnetteer's practice of comparing features of women's beauty with the "earth and sea's rich gems." . . . Spenser, in his *Amoretti,* No. ix., gives Shakespeare a very direct cue, as may be seen when Spenser's cited sonnet is read alongside Shakespeare's sonnet xxi.[4]

Mr. J. Q. Adams likewise finds satire and revolt against current literary fashions:

> The same note of ridicule appears in Sonnet 21. . . . And in Sonnet 130 he laughs at the style of the conventional sonneteer.[5]

It is likely, however, that Shakspere draws the bow in *Sonnet CXXX* for a target more particular than Elizabethan sonneteers in general—that the arrow is meant for *A Most Rare Dreame.* The dark lady herein pictured is inevitably a protest against honeyed blondes of many sugared sonnets; and the fact that she has neither breasts of snow nor perfumed breath also strikes at many of Shakspere's predecessors and contemporaries in verse. But the connection between Greene's poem and *Sonnet CXXX* appears to be much closer than any unpremeditated critical negation of Petrarchan conceits in general could have produced. *A Most Rare Dreame* is long, and contains much material not found in *Sonnet CXXX.* But if that passage wherein the lover lists the charms of his lady is placed beside Shakspere's fourteen lines, some interesting parallels may be observed:

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[4] *A Life of William Shakespeare,* Macmillan Co., 1916, p. 190; continued in n. 3.
[5] *Life of William Shakespeare,* Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923, pp. 170-1.

Greene:

Hir Amber tresses on hir shoulders lies,
The which as she doth moue, diuided run
About hir bodie just in circle wise,
Like to the curious web Arachne spun;
Or else, to make a fit comparison,
Like slender twist turnëd to shining fire,
Or flames by woonder *wrought into a wire.*

The forehead that confines these burnisht haires,
For *whiteness* striueth with vntouchëd *snowe;*
For smoothness with the Iuorie compares;
And doth the Alablasters glistring showe,
Vnder this firmament you are to know,
Two powrfull stars which, at their pleasure, moue
The variable effects that follows loue.

Hir cheekes resembleth right a garden plot,
Of diuers sorts of rare Carnation flowres,
The which the scorching sun offendeth not,
Nor boystrous winter with his rotting showres;
Vncertaine Iuno thereon neuer lowers:
Here Venus with hir little loues reposes,
Amongst the lillies and the *damaske roses.*

Hir lips compares with the Vermilion morne,
Hir equall teeth in semicircle wise,
For orientnes selected pearle may scorne;
What may I of hir issuing breath deuise,
That from this pearle and Synaber doth rise:
The francumsense and myrr, that Inde presents,
Within this aire leese their extollëd sents.

. . . . . .

Girt with a tawnie Cyprous were hir clothes,
And thus attirde, this Angell woman goes.[6]

Shakspere:

My Mistress eyes are nothing like the Sunne,
Currall is farre more red, then her lips red,
If snowe be white, why then her breasts are dun:
If haires be wiers, black wiers grow on her head:
I have seene *Roses damaskt,* red and white,
But no such *Roses see I in her cheekes,*

[5] *Life of William Shakespeare,* Houghton Mifflin Co., 1923, pp. 170-1.
[6] *A Most Rare and Excellent Dreame* (*The Phoenix Nest*), p. 34, 11. 25ff.

And in some perfumes is there more delight,
Then in the breath that from my Mistres reekes.
I love to heare her speake, yet well I know,
That Musicke hath a farre more pleasing sound:
I graunt I never saw a goddesse goe,
My Mistress when shee walkes treads on the ground.
And yet, by heaven, I thinke my love as rare,
As any she beli'd with false compare.[7]

The italicized lines show how particular is Shakspere's negation of the passage from *A Most Rare Dream*. Granted that the whiteness of snow, the sweetness of breath, and hairs of wire are conventional comparisons in Elizabethan poetry, it is rather against the laws of chance that all of these and more should be served up in a satirical sonnet in much the same order that Greene previously arranged them in his last poem. The cutting thrust by which Shakspere has apparently turned an "Angell woman" into a creature of flesh and blood "who treads the ground" is final and best internal evidence.

In *A Midsummer Night's Dream* Shakspere's quarrel with the writers of charm lists and spineless lovers and cruel ladies is expanded into a teapot tempest. At the very outset the comedy takes on the vaguely familiar though disjointed form of a love-vision. The title itself suggests the dream-poem; but instead of a May-day or spring-time setting, the time is night, and the season is mad midsummer. Gradually Bottom and the lovers drift into the wood so often found in the old formula, led by Puck rather than the usual animal guide. Gradually each is put to sleep—each goes into the dream. But what a dream of madness—where women woo and are disdained, and list their lovers' charms: where the old etiquette of courtly love is speared and slain. "I am your spaniel," says the unorthodox Helena to Demetrius. "Away, you Ethiope!" cries Lysander to Hermia. But reality returns with the day, and all are roused when "huntsmen wake them with their horns." It is difficult, however, to distinguish the real from the unreal in such matters.

Are you sure
That we are awake?

asks Demetrius.

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[7] *"Sonnet CXXX,"* J. O. Beaty and J. W. Bower, *Famous Editions of English Poets,* Richard R. Smith, Inc., New York, 1931, p. 50.

It seems to me
That yet we sleep, we dream.
(IV, i. 195-7)

With that the farce of the love-vision is over,[8] and Shakspere turns in the last act to a final shot at another favorite theme of his, the weakness of the English stage.

The relation of the play to Robert Greene may be both general and particular. The man was especially vulnerable for satire on the field of the love-vision. Leaving out any animosity on the part of the "upstart crow," he would nevertheless have had a hard time missing the London journalist if he had aimed at all in the direction of dream literature. Of the pieces that Greene composed towards the end of his troubled career, *Orphiron* (1588), *A Maidens Dreame* (1590), *A Quip for an Upstart Courtier* (1592), *Greene's Vision* (1592) and *A Most Rare and Excellent Dreame* (1593) all use in some form or other the dream plan. For various reasons, however, it is the last of these works that seems to bear the brunt of particular satire.

Bully Bottom, awakening from the experiences of his love-vision, cries out:

> I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream, past the wit of man to say what dream it was: man is but an ass, if he go about to expound this dream. Methought I was,—there is no man can tell what,—and methought I had,—but man is but a patched fool, if he will offer to say what methought I had. The eye of man hath not heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man's hand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive, nor his heart to report, what my dream was. I will get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this dream: it shall be called Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom. (IV, i, 208-21).

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[8]So full is Shakspere of his subject that it is almost inevitable that these ideas which are developed into the full-fledged play of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and touched upon in two of his sonnets should have spilled over into *Romeo and Juliet*, following close on the heels of the comedy. At once we meet the artificial and sighing Romeo and the denying Rosaline. The reality of Juliet's love, however, intrudes and awakens the hero out of his ridiculous dream. An echo of the fun in the comedy appears when Mercutio calls out in ridicule to Romeo, "Cry but 'Aye me!' "—when in the very next scene Juliet breaks the silence of the night with that same conventional lover's sigh. There is rich comedy in the first balcony scene; and most of it grows out of Juliet's inability to hold to Petrarchan standards of love-making. Her long apology to Romeo for not being able to pretend is excellent satire. But "farewell compliment!" cries Juliet. Then, frightened at her own audacity, she adds,

> Or, if thou think'st I am too quickly won,
> I'll frown and be perverse and say thee nay.

In the first place, Bottom's statement, "I have had a most rare vision. I have had a dream," may be taken as a travesty of the title of *A Most Rare and Excellent Dreame.* Again, the poem is as long and rambling in content as it is in its full title, and might well be called "Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom." Furthermore, an examination of what "Bottom's Dream" must have been if Peter Quince had ever set it down on paper reveals an excelent burlesque on Greene's poem. For it is Titania who woos, while the hero remains coy; and it is Titania who lists the ass-lover's charms,—his "amiable cheeks," his "sleek head," and his "fair large ears." The date of the poem, too, is an aid to the argument, for it was probably less than a year old when *A Midsummer Nights Dream* first saw the stage.

A connection between Greene and Bottom has already been argued. J. M. Brown, in "An Early Rival of Shakspere," says:

> Shakespeare, with all his tolerance, was unable to refrain from retaliation; but it is with no venomous pen that he retaliates. . . . In the *Midsummer Night's Dream* . . . he takes this early school of amateur player-poets, and pillories them in Bottom, Quince, Snug, Flute, Snout, and Starveling; and with elfin machinery he borrows from Greene, and turns his caricature, Bottom, into everlasting ridicule.[9]

A reference to Greene's death has likewise been pointed out in Theseus's lines:

> "The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
> Of Learning, late deceased in beggary."[10] (V. i. 52-3)

E. K. Chambers notes, relative to "Bottom's Dream, because it hath no bottom," that "Mr. Fleay suggests that there is here a hit at Robert Greene, who called one of his poems *A Maiden's Dream,* for the apparent reason that there was no maiden in it."[11] Such reasoning is interesting. Unfortunately, however, certain facts must be taken into account before accepting the theory. That there was no maiden in that poem means nothing, for the piece is an

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[9] *New Zealand Magazine,* No. 6, pp. 97-133, 1877. Brown's article is substantially reproduced in Vol. I of A. B. Grosart's *Complete Works of Robert Greene,* London, Huth Library Series, 1881-3, 15 vols., from which this passage is taken, p. xviii.

[10] See Chambers's note on the lines, *The Arden Shakespeare,* D. C. Heath and Co., New York.

[11] *Arden Shakespeare,* p. 125, n. on IV. II. 220-1.

elegy, addressed to the Lady Elizabeth Hatton on the death of her uncle, Sir Christopher Hatton, Lord Chancellor of England; and Greene probably felt that his words of consolation to this woman should be placed in the mouth of a woman. The date of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is a barrier, too. It has generally been placed between the years 1593-1596,[12] too long after the appearance of *A Maidens Dreame* (1590) for Bottom's speech to have been understood by an audience. Also, there is missing in the poem situations that would lead to the satire on courtly love that "Bottom's Dream" must have contained, and that is otherwise expressed through the comedy; for no lovers are present in Greene's love-vision elegy, only a dead knight. The listing of a woman's charms gives way to the recounting of a man's admirable and generous qualities. Finally, Shakspere would hardly have satirized an elegy written on the death of the "late Lord Chancellor of England."

It is worth while to note how completely these difficulties that we encounter in *A Maidens Dreame* disappear if we accept *A Most Rare Dream* (1593) as the butt of Bottom's jest. Fleay's unsubstantiated guess now has legs to stand upon. The more literate and sophisticated part of Shakspere's audience very likely recognized the allusion, too; for Bottom's speech is already anticipated in the title of the play, which approaches the title of the poem. The last poem from the pen of the successful poet and dramatist must have brought forth some public comment, especially since the rattle of the guns in the late literary war over the passages in the *Groatsworth of Wit* had scarcely ceased to reverbeate.

This slight evidence of Shakspere's more secret than open retaliation, if taken as valid, might offer certain suggestions for the answering of other questions that scholars have asked: (1) The dates of *A Midsummer Night's Dream* and *Sonnet CXXX*—both of which works are inevitably drawn together by their burlesque of the popular pastime of listing a lady's charms—are rather definitely fixed at a time very soon after the entry of *The Phoenix Nest* in the

[12]R. A. Law, "On the Dating of Shakespeare's Plays," *Shakespeare Association Bulletin*, XI, No. 1, p. 50, 1936.

Stationer's Register, October 8, 1593. (2) The Dark Lady of the *Sonnets* loses much of her importance as a probable model of some contemporary person, and appears to be no more than a negation in general of blonde feminine figures that filled the contemporary sonnets, and especially a travesty of Greene's heroine in *A Most Rare Dream.* (3) The suggestions of Brown, Fleay, and others that Greene has been at least thrice referred to in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* is considerably enhanced, since the comedy itself is largely a burlesque of the "love-vision" that Greene employed excessively.

But to return to the main thesis: Though incomplete and shadowy, I believe that the evidence I have presented is sufficient to show that Shakspere was much more disturbed over the tirade in the *Groatsworth of Wit* than has generally been thought; and that he was not above expressing his bitterness towards Greene in at least two works composed immediately following the dead dramatist's last and childish work—more than a year after Greene's death.

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SHAKSPERE AND THE PURITANS

By R. Balfour Daniels

ALTHOUGH Shakspere, to judge from his plays, took no great interest in the smoking of tobacco or the mining industry, one should not accuse him of total ignorance of these subjects. Ben Jonson, to be sure, mentioned the new custom of smoking or "drinking" tobacco;[1] Shakspere did not; but the latter's keen observation of the life around him supplied him with many facts that his less observant contemporaries overlooked. Yet in spite of Shakspere's awareness of the social, political and religious movements of Elizabethan England and his knowledge of the feelings of the populace, it has been alleged that he knew nothing of the popular tendencies of Puritanism.[2] Can it be that Sir John Falstaff's psalm-singing weaver[3] is merely a curious coincidence?

Were it possible to connect Shakspere with the Martin Marprelate Controversy or the play entitled *The Puritan,*[4] his interest in Puritanism and its development would have to be admitted by every one; but even though he had nothing to do with either of these, it is possible to discover his attitude toward the impending religious and political strife.

His plays, in the words of one distinguished scholar,[5] "furnish many ironical references to the Puritans and their doctrines;" and we may conclude, accordingly, that Shakspere was opposed to the Puritans. It would, indeed, have been strange if he had not been: for he was an actor and a playwright, and the Puritans did not look upon the stage with favor. Had it been in their power, they would have taken away his livelihood; but during his lifetime they were not able to effect the closing of the theatres. When they did finally gain politcal ascendancy and shut up the playhouses,

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[1] *Every Man in His Humour,* III. v.

[2] J. R. Green, *Short History of the English People* (New York, 1884), p. 436.

[3] *1 Henry IV,* II. iv.

[4] For a consideration of the possible author of the play, see: W. D. Dunkel, "The Authorship of *The Puritan*", *PMLA,* XLV (1930), 804-808.

[5] Sir Sidney Lee, *A Life of William Shakespeare,* 3d. ed. of his Revised Version (London, 1922), p. 487.

the drama had declined from its glorious eminence; the loss was, therefore, not an irreparable one.

Even before the turbulent reign of the first Charles, the contest between the Puritans and the Court Party was clearly foreshadowed; Shakspere saw the early signs of religious and political dissention before they became apparent to the general public. The pageantry and splendor of court and city life, the joyous and convivial celebration of Christmas, the fairs, festivals, bear-baitings, puppet shows and plays were things that Shakspere delighted in and approved of; but they were most distasteful to the Puritans. They sought to circumscribe life and hold it in with a stern and austere restraint, while England's greatest dramatist and poet believed in a humanistic enjoyment of all of life's pleasures and got infinite delight from observing the gorgeous and limitless panorama of human activity in a colorful, adventurous and exciting age.

Now a Scots clergyman has argued from somewhat tenuous evidence that Shakspere was a Puritan and recusant;[6] but is it not more likely that the religious forms of the Puritans seemed to him cold and uninspiring and lacking in the emotional and æsthetic appeal that was present in the services of the Church of England and the Roman Catholic Church? Then, too, there is the report of the Reverend Richard Davies that "he dyed a papist."[7] Sir Sidney Lee refers to this statement as "idle gossip";[8] but another scholar of note asks: "How did Sir Sidney know that Davies was irresponsible or a gossip?"[9] and declares that "it was by no means unusual for a seventheenth-centruy Catholic to be buried in his parish church."[9]

Yet, Protestant or Catholic, Shakspere was no doubt hostile to the Puritans' attitude to the theatre. Nevertheless, he did not show his hostility by any splenetic outburst of violent satire. He was not the author of any pointedly anti-Puritan drama such as Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair.*

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[6]T. Carter, *Shakespeare, Puritan and Recusant* (Edinburgh and London, 1897).

[7]"From *Fulman MS.* xv (*C. C. C. MS.* 309), no. 7, p. 22 in the library of *C. C. C.* Oxford."—E. K. Chambers, *William Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1930), II, 255.

[8]*Op. cit.*, p. 487.

[9]Chambers, *op. cit.*, I, 86.

His gentleness and humanity made him see that many Puritans were not, even in their opinion of plays and players, wholly wrong or utterly unreasonable or absolutely ridiculous. His fidelity to nature made it impossible for him to paint the picture in unnatural colors. There was, as he well knew, much virtue and honest charity among the Non-Conformists and not a little vice and frivolity in the party with which he naturally sympathized.

One looks first at *Twelfth Night* because of the specific references to Puritans therein. Here Malvolio is our Puritan. Behold Sir Toby Belch, Sir Andrew Aguecheek and Feste, the clown, having a glorious time drinking and singing vociferously long after midnight.[10] They are making a tremendous noise. Maria enters and, though secretly amused, protests at their making such a din. Sir Toby is too far in his cups to pay any attention and only sings the louder. Thereupon Malvolio enters; he will restore order in the household, and says indignantly:[11]

> "My masters, are you mad, or what are you? Have you no wit, manners, nor honesty, but to gabble like tinkers at this time of night? Do ye make an alehouse of my lady's house, that ye squeak out your coziers' catches without any mitigation or remorse of voice? Is there no respect of place, persons, nor time in you?"

Sir Toby is quite unabashed and answers wittily:

> "We did keep time, sir, in our catches. Sneck up!"

At this Malvolio remonstrates with Sir Toby and suggests that the Countess will turn him out of the house; the singing continues unabated; and Sir Toby shows his contempt, asking:

> "Art any more than a steward? Dost thou think, because thou art virtuous, there shall be no more cakes and ale?"

Malvolio departs after berating Maria for supplying the roisterers with wine. All of them are now annoyed by Malvolio's righteous indignation and plan to play a practical joke on him. Sir Toby asks what sort of a person Malvolio is, and Maria answers:

> "Marry, sir, sometimes he is a kind of puritan."

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[10]Act II. sc. iii.

[11]Alwin Thaler, "The Original Malvolio?", *Shakespeare Associaiton Bulletin*, VII (1932), 57-71, presents the case for Ffarington and discusses other possibilities.

And Sir Andrew, who evidently has an ingrained dislike for Puritans, exclaims:

> "O, if I thought that, I'd beat him like a dog!"

But Sir Toby, less reactionary and better disposed toward the Puritans, asks:

> "What, for being a puritan? Thy exquisite reason, dear knight?"
> "I have no exquisite reason for't, but I have reason good enough,"

answers Sir Andrew, who thinks in his simple country fashion that all Non-Conformists should be punished and that any radicalism, whether in religion or politics, is quite intolerable. Herein lies Sir Andrew's fascination for us: he is an innocent knight from the country, easily gulled; and he has an immense respect for Sir Toby, whom he regards as a great wit and man of fashion; but he cannot understand Sir Toby's urbane tolerance. He cannot consider Malvolio merely an annoying and officious fellow, as his companion does, but believes him to be a dangerous reformer who is intent on interfering with the freeborn Englishman's right of getting drunk and singing the whole night long. Sir Andrew is, or would have been in a later age, the Tory landowner who has no very good reason for his religious or political views except that they were held by his father and grandfather; and he believes that any man who holds otherwise is an upstart rascal.

But Maria qualifies her original assertion:

> "The devil a puritan that he is, or anything constantly, but a time-pleaser; an affection'd ass, that cons state without book and utters it by great swarths; the very best persuaded of himself, so cramm'd, as he thinks, with excellencies, that it is his grounds of faith that all that look on him love him; and on that vice in him will my revenge find notable cause to work."

Thus she makes that charge so often levelled against the Puritans; namely, that of hypocrisy and pride. There is no doubt some truth in her allegation: for Malvolio is trying to curry favor by whatever means he can. Yet the excellencies with which he thinks himself crammed are not altogether imaginary. He is an able, honest and conscientious steward in Olivia's household. He is sober, industrious, intelligent, and not without some learning; but his chief defect is his consuming pride. Malvolio is contemptuous of the ignorant Sir Andrew and the carousing Sir Toby, whom he

regards as a worthless wastrel. He differs from these rude and boisterous knights and, in true Puritan fashion, prides himself on his superior virtue through which he believes he may accomplish wonders. Maria, who is thoroughly annoyed by Malvolio's priggishness, sees that he has such a good opinion of himself that he may be tricked into believing that Olivia is enamoured of him. The fact that she is a countess and the significance of Sir Toby's contemptuous question, "Art any more than a steward?" do not impress Malvolio at all. Virtue, it seems to him, must be rewarded; and he is about to receive a tangible earthly reward. He has the Puritan's faith in the efficacy of diligence in business, nor has he failed to be exceedingly polite in all his endeavors.

Passing over the question of whether Malvolio was suggested by or intended to represent Sir Ambrose Willoughby, Sir William Knollys, or—as seems more likely—William Ffarington,[11] can we not conclude that Olivia's steward stands for a certain type of Puritan that Shakspere disliked and took great pleasure in ridiculing? One must notice, however, that it is not Malvolio's Puritanism that is emphasized but his personal characteristics, qualities which, it is true, not a few of his persuasion possessed. Through his self-righteous pride and conceit Maria makes him, as she says, "a common recreation."[12] Perhaps the most entertaining feature of the whole affair is the injury to Malvolio's self-esteem and his burning sense of injustice when they pretend to consider him mad and lodge him in a dark room.[13] This is perhaps the severest blow of all: for Malvolio took especial satisfaction in his intelligence and powers of reason. Somehow the stern Puritan was no more satisfied with Olivia's household than he was with Elizabethan London. There were many things to offend him in both places. Yet in Malvolio's last speech[14] a prophetic note is struck; and the comments of Olivia and the Duke after Malvolio has departed are indeed significant.[14]

Malvolio. I'll be reveng'd on the whole pack of you. (*Exit.*)
Olivia. He hath been most notoriously abus'd.
Duke. Pursue him, and entreat him to a peace.

[12]Act II. sc. iii.
[13]Act IV, sc. ii.
[14]Act. V. sc. i.

Well, whether Malvolio ever did make peace with his tormentors we do not know; but we do know that during Elizabeth's reign the Puritans did not wreck the kingdom. It was not until the time of Charles I that they overthrew the Court Party, established the Commonwealth, and beheaded the king. Was this, then, Malvolio's revenge? If so, it was a hundred times worse than the original offense.

The anti-Puritan bias of Sir Andrew Aguecheek has already been mentioned. There is another instance of it in the play.[15] Sir Andrew's suit for the hand of Olivia is not progressing satisfactorily. Sir Toby Belch, acting as his counsellor, advises "some laudable attempt either of valor or policy."

> *Sir Andrew.* An't be any way, it must be with valor; for policy I hate.
> I had as lief be a Brownist as a politician.

This is an emphatic reiteration of Sir Andrew's dislike of the Non-Conformists.

The Brownists, an early group of Separatist Puritans, were so called on account of their leader, Robert Browne (1550?-1633?), who denounced the episcopal form of government and was imprisoned by the Bishop of Norwich in 1581, though his release was later effected by the Lord Treasurer, Burghley, a distant relative.[16]

Of *Troilus and Cressida* Coleridge has said: "Yet another secondary and subordinate purpose Shakespeare has inwoven with his delineation of these two characters,—that of opposing the inferior civilization, but purer morals, of the Trojans to the refinements, deep policy, but duplicity and sensual corruptions, of the Greeks."[17] One might easily substitute the word "Puritans" for "Trojans" and "Cavaliers" for "Greeks;" for it is to the England of Shakspere's time that the characters must be referred, even though the action is supposed to take place outside the walls and in the city of ancient Troy. One's sympathy is enlisted for the

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[15]Act III. sc. ii.
[16]*D. N. B.* 57-61.
[17]S. T. Coleridge, *Lectures and Notes on Shakespeare* (London, G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1914 edition), pp. 307-308.

Trojans, who though more steadfast of purpose and more deeply devoted to honesty and fair encounter, are no match for the subtle and crafty Greeks. The Greeks are hindered by internal dissention and a spirit of jealous rivalry; but their resourcefulness and power, well directed by Ulysses and Nestor, are to bring them victory in the end.

Herein one may see Shakspere's recognition of the importance of leadership. The forces of Cavalier and Puritan were, or would be in a few years, very nearly equal. If any active hostility were to occur, the side with the more skillful leaders would win. Oliver Cromwell proved the determining factor.

To return to *Troilus and Cressida,* the vices and follies of the Greeks are exemplified in Achilles, Ajax, Diomedes and Patroclus;while Thersites seems to combine most of their faults and be, besides, a scurrilous defamer. Many of the same defects were to be found in the Court Party. Hector and Troilus, though lacking the brilliance and fascination of the Greek leaders, are sincere and able men and may be taken as representing the best type of Non-Conformist sympathizer. Cressida, a rather pitiful figure, may be said to stand for a Puritan girl of a warm and impulsive nature who has been corrupted by the loose morals of the Court. Helen, brought up in this hothouse atmosphere, was only too ready to elope with Paris; while Andromache and Cassandra represent women in whom the Puritan morality has taken root. *Troilus and Cressida,* for many reasons, is a difficult play to interpret; but it does suggest quite forcefully the differences that were beginning to arise between the Court Party and the Non-Conformists.

All's Well That Ends Well contains a strange reference to members of different sects. In a scene where the Countess of Rousillon, her Steward and La Vache, the clown, are present,[18] La Vache, taking advantage of that license allowed jesters, is not speaking with the utmost propriety. At the end of a paradoxical argument he says:

> "Young Charbon the puritan and old Poysam, the papist, howsome'er their hearts are sever'd in religion, their heads are both one; they may jowl horns together, like any deer i' the herd."

[18]Act I. sc. iii.

There is here a double meaning: they may lock horns in argument, and they both may have the horns of the cuckold. But what of the names "Charbon, the puritan" and "Poysam, the papist?" Some recent editors,[19] following Malone's explanation that "Poysam" is a corruption of *poisson* (referring to the fish that Roman Catholics eat on certain prescribed days) and taking Aldis Wright's and Easy's emendation of "Charbon" to *chair-bonne* (referring to the flesh that the Protestants eat), have actually printed in their text:

"Young Chair-bonne the puritan and old Poisson the papist."[20]

But why torture a perfectly good French word like *charbon* and try to make something else out of it just to make a contrast to the imaginary *poisson,* especially when they admit, "Shakespeare probably wrote 'Charbon' "?[21] Malone's explanation that *Charbon* "refers to the fiery zeal of the Puritans" is also a possibility. It might, however, stand for the black gown that the Non-Conformist clergymen wore, especially since La Vache refers to such a black gown later in the same scene. The quality of blackness and that of hardness is often associated with the Puritan's religion; and so the allusion may be even more figurative.

Charbon, however, admits another explanation; and this concerns two sixteenth-century English clergymen of Non-Conformist tendencies of the name of Cole.

The first of these was Thomas Cole, who was born in Lincolnshire and attended King's College, Cambridge,[22] where he received the degree of Master of Arts in 1550. He was afterwards master of the Maidstone School and then dean of Sarum. On the accession of Queen Mary he thought it prudent to remove to Frankfort. There he met John Knox. Later he moved to Geneva. Returning to England he became rector of High Ongar, Essex, in 1559. The following year he became prebendary of Rugmere in the Church of St. Paul. He subscribed to the original Thirty-nine articles as well as the petition for discipline presented by the lower house. He was made a Doctor of Divinity by Cambridge and became rector of Standford Rivers, Essex,

[19]Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and John Dover Wilson.
[20]*All's Well That Ends Well* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 14.
[21]*Op. cit.,* p. 128.
[22]For this and the other facts of Thos. Cole's life my authority is *D. N. B.,* II: 273-274.

in 1564. Thomas Cole helped frame the Genevan form of worship. He was said to be an eloquent preacher of Non-Conformist tendencies. His death occurred in 1571. This worthy divine has been counfounded with another celebrated clergyman, William Cole.

William Cole, who like Thomas, was also a Doctor of Divinity, lived until 1600 and was president of Corpus Christi Colege, Oxford from 1568 until 1598 and dean of Lincoln from 1598 until the time of his death.[23] Since he had embraced reformed doctrines early in his career and become one of the Protestant leaders at Oxford, he was forced to flee when Mary became queen. He went to Zurich, where he assisted Coverdale, Whittingham and others in revising the English translation of the Bible. Upon his return to England, Queen Elizabeth appointed William Cole president of Corpus Christi College. Yet because the college was "popishly inclined,"[24] the gates had to be broken in before Cole could enter.

Now *All's Well That Ends Well* was very likely written during William Cole's lifetime or shortly after his death, and Shakspere may well have had him in mind. But if this is so, why is the reference to "young Charbon?" William Cole could hardly have been young at the time: for he must have been in the neighborhood of seventy when he died. This may be merely a way of contrasting the newer Reformed Religion with the older Church of Rome but transferring the epithet from the sect to the person—"young Charbon the puritan and old Poysam the papist." It is also possible that the adjective "young" was used to distinguish him from the other Cole, Thomas, who was doubtless several years older.

The second reference made by La Vache to the Puritans occurs in the same scene.[25] The Countess wearies of his impudent conversation and says:

"You'll be gone, sir knave, and do as I command you."

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[23]For this and the other facts of Wm. Cole's life my authority is *D. N. B.*, II: 274-276.

[24]Strype, *Annals*, I, i, 343.

[25]Act I. sc. iii.

Clown. That man should be at woman's command, and yet no hurt done! Though honesty be no puritan, yet it will do no hurt; it will wear the surplice of humility over the black gown of a big heart.

The Puritan clergy preferred a black gown to the surplice, which they thought savored too much of Romanism. Nevertheless, they wore the surplice *over* the gown to conform, when they did conform, to the laws of the church. The allusion is not flattering to the Puritans.

Measure for Measure is Shakspere's severest indictment of a certain type of Puritan. Angelo, the deputy of spotless reputation, is put by the Duke in charge of law enforcement in Vienna. There has been a certain laxity in law observance, and under the new administration an era of reform is promised. At first, with typical humility, possibly genuine in this case, Angelo voices a doubt as to his fitness for this high position:[26]

"Now, my good Lord,
Let there be some more test made of my metal
Before so noble and so great a figure
Be stamp'd upon it."

The Duke will have no excuse, and Angelo enters upon his office. Reforms commence immediately but, as is usual in such cases, without absolute impartiality: all houses of ill-fame in the suburbs of the city are to be plucked down but not those in the city itself since "a wise burgher put in for them."[27] Now Angelo, with the typical zeal of the Puritan, is determined to deal in an exceedingly severe manner with infractions of the code of sexual morality. He invokes an old law and, pursuant to "the drowsy and neglected act"[27] still on the statute books but for many years unenforced, condemns Claudio to death. Vincentio, the Duke, considers Angelo well able to conduct the affairs of state but, nevertheless, remains in Vienna in disguise to see how a Precisian will act when given so much power. Says the Duke:[28]

"Lord Angelo is precise,
Stands at a guard with envy, scarce confesses
That his blood flows, or that his appetite

[26]Act I. sc. i.
[27]Act I. sc. ii.
[28]Act I. sc. iii.

> Is more to bread than stone; hence we shall see,
> If power change purpose, what our seemers be."

Isabella's pleas for the life of her brother fail to move Angelo. He would enforce the law and require the death penalty even if one of his kindred had committed the crime.[29] Bribery is apparently impossible: Angelo is the incorruptible judge. He appears to be harsh and merciless, but not wicked or dishonest. Then comes his downfall. In thinking over the nature of the crime that Claudio has committed, Angelo is influenced by base thoughts. Isabella's beauty appeals to him as her pleas have not. He tells her that the surrender of her chastity must be the price of her brother's release.[30]

Having embarked on an evil course, he throws all restraints to the wind. He has been so used to the severest discipline and restraint that he cannot distinguish between a minor moral lapse and the utmost villainy. Once a breach is made in the wall of his morality, the whole edifice comes tumbling down; and he will not descend to the depths of iniquity alone but must drag others with him. He has not even the honesty to keep his part of the immoral bargain but intends to take Claudio's life after prostituting his sister.[31] Fortunately, through the intervention of the Duke and Mariana the vicious plans of Angelo are circumvented, and the play is brought to a happy though not entirely satisfactory ending.

This, then, is Shakspere's conception of the Puritan tyrant. It is not a pretty picture; and Angelo's pardon only shows the magnanimity of the Duke, although, after employing Angelo's discarded fiancée, Mariana, to take Isabella's place, he could hardly have done otherwise. Had Marlowe or Ben Jonson written the play, Angelo would have probably been tied up in a sack and thrown into the Danube. Shakspere is kinder. Yet one can hardly doubt that he intended the monstrous deputy to represent the tyrannical Puritan: his very name is significant.

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[29]Act II. sc. ii.
[30]Act II. sc. iv.
[30]Act II. sc. iv.
[31]Act IV. sc. ii.

Hamlet, about which so much speculation has been rife, is crammed full of Shakspere's philosophy; and it would be strange indeed if that play did not contain some inkling of the author's opinion about the political and religious division of English society. Passing over any bearing it may have on the war of the theatres or the doctrines of Montaigne,[32] let us consider what *Hamlet* has to do with the political situation in England.

It will be recalled that the Danish Court in that play is represented as being thoroughly corrupt. The King, moreover,

> "Keeps wassail, and the swaggering up-spring reels;
> And, as he drains his draughts of Rhenish down,
> The kettle-drum and trumpet thus bray out
> The triumph of his pledge."[33]

The quiet and studious Horatio, lately come from Wittenberg, is mildly shocked by the terrific din and inquires whether it is a custom. Prince Hamlet, a malcontent with many puritanical ideas, admits that it is, but adds that it is "More honor'd in the breach than the observance."[33] He then declares:

> "This heavy-headed revel east and west
> Makes us traduc'd and tax'd of other nations.
> They clepe us drunkards, and with swinish phrase
> Soil our addition."

Affairs do not improve. The revelry is followed by treachery, intrigue, and poisoning. In the last act, after the King and Queen and Laertes have died, as Hamlet lies dying he says:[34]

> "I cannot live to hear the news from England,
> But I do prophesy the election lights
> On Fortinbras."

Now this would seem to be a doubly prophetic passage: for it does not take any great stretch of the imagination to think of the people of the court in *Hamlet* as the Cavalier Party in England and the army of Fortinbras as the Puritan army under Cromwell. It was not until after Shakspere's death that the Rebellion actually occurred; and many years were

[32]Jacob Feis, *Shakespeare and Montaigne* (London, 1884).
[33]Act I. sc. iv.
[34]Act V. sc. ii.

to elapse before the final triumph of the Puritans; but the seeds of civil strife had been sown and were ready to spring up at a not-too-distant day.

In the dramatic romances Shakspere does not seem to be greatly concerned with the differences between the Court Party and the Non-Conformists. There is, to be sure, an allusion to a Puritan in *The Winter's Tale*. The Clown says:[35]

> "She hath made me four-and-twenty nosegays for the shearers, three-man song-man all, and very good ones; but they are most of them means and bases; but one puritan amongst them, and he sings psalms to hornpipes."

This recalls Falstaff's psalm-singing weaver.[36] It shows Shakspere's distaste for this feature of the Puritan's worship.

Recently an attempt has been made to find some allusions to Calvinism in *The Tempest*.[37] To some this will seem far-fetched. The argument is as follows:

> "The attack made upon Miranda by Caliban may be interpreted to mean the attack made upon the stage by the Puritans."[38]

This is said to be so because "Caliban suggests 'Calvin' the Continental leader of Puritanism."[39] There are, of course, other reasons. Yet if Caliban is meant to suggest Calvin, can it also be an anagram of "cannibal"?

Caliban's attempted revolt from the rule of Prospero is then explained thus:

> "The author [Shakspere] recognizes that the great populace has been infected by the virus of Puritanism; the hewers of wood and drawers of water have accepted it as their form of religion."[40]

Hostile as Shakspere was to Puritanism, such plays as *The Puritan* and Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* were foreign to his nature. He was more interested in living characters than grotesque caricatures. Besides, he could not fail to see that the Puritans must counterbalance certain defects in the

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[35]Act IV. sc. iii.
[36]See note 3.
[37]Eva Turner Clark, *Hidden Allusions in Shakespeare's Plays* (New York, 1931).
[38]Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 407.
[39]Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 415.
[40]Clark, *op. cit.*, p. 415.

Cavaliers' scheme of things. Accordingly, his disapproval was tempered with charity, and he refused to become ill-natured because the Puritans' opinions were not his. His view of the opposed factions in England was always sane and temperate.

Ben Jonson did not show such restraint; and, naturally, after the Restoration his *Bartholomew Fair* was revived. It might be supposed that it would have had the unqualified approval of all the adherents of the Court Party. Yet on account of its intemperance and abuse, it did not. Samuel Pepys enjoyed it tremendously, but he did not altogether approve of it. He saw it on the eighth of June, 1661, and wrote in his *Diary*:[41]

> "I went to the Theatre and there saw Bartholomew Faire, the first time it was acted now-a-days. It is a most admirable play and well acted, but too much prophane and abusive."

And on September 4, 1668, having seen it again, he commented:[42]

> "It is an excellent play; the more I see it, the more I love the wit of it; only the business of abusing the Puritans begins to grow stale and of no use, they being the people that, at last, will be found the wisest."

Possibly Shakspere's tolerance and good-humored satire were positively detrimental to the proper evaluation of his work by the critics and general public at the time of Charles II. After the strenuous and difficult days of the Civil War and the Commonwealth they may have desired more violent expressions of sentiment. Yet, with all his serenity, unlike the violence of his contemporaries, Shakspere showed in no uncertain way his dislike of the Puritans and their growing power.

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[41] H. B. Wheatley, ed. (London, 1926), II, 47.
[42] *Id.*, VIII, 92.

BEN JONSON, PATRIARCH OF SPEECH STUDY

By Henry W. Wells

SOME shrewd comments of the savants in *Love's Labour's Lost* stick in one's memory. Holofernes has discoursed to the pedant Nathaniel on the refined pronunciation of "debt" and "half". The two men have used a jumble of Latin, French and Spanish phrases. Moth observes: "They have been to a great feast of languages, and stolen the scraps." To which Costard adds, "O, they have lived long on the alms-basket of words." We are reminded that, for better or for worse, language has presumably never meant more to men than in the England of Shakspere. Never was it used more colorfully or studied more zealously. For Humanism meant the study of man as the only speaking animal. In this golden age for language Shakspere, of course, employed speech the most brilliantly; but it has too often been forgotten that Ben Jonson studied it the most consciously and profoundly. Despite all our learning in language, we still have much to glean from him. Of actual technique he can tell us little. But English history records no more inspiring figure of a man devoted to the deliberate study of English speech. No one has had a richer or more fascinating language than he to examine; no one has taken better advantage of an opportunity. To our language study he is what Bach is to music or Giotto to painting. But unhappily his achievements have in no field been adequately appreciated by recent commentators. The Augustan eighteenth century needed no commentary to understand him; the romantic nineteenth century could not have understood him well, even if the best commentary had existed. Our own generation has too often simply neglected him. The present essay aims to express the spirit of this great lover of language, to depict the relation between the man Jonson and the world of English speech. He is the forefather of all our speech study, and there is good ground for being satisfied with such a patriarch.

He must have sucked in the love of words as a child. Legend pictures him as a bricklayer with a trowel in one hand and a volume of the classics in the other. The picture

is, no doubt, a fabrication, even though he later laid on his own English words with a trowel. Probability points rather to his endowment with a remarkable ear for speech. As his mind developed, his studies revolved about two distinct poles, the classics and spoken English. Unlike so many of his fellow-countrymen, he cared little for the modern languages abroad. Well as he knew the older English poets, he acknowledged no real classics in his own language. It was his aim to lead, not to follow his contemporaries. Primarily English was for him a language which others spoke and he also wrote. Still further, unlike many of the Elizabethans, he was scarcely distinguished as a translator. The passages in his works directly imitated from the classics tend to be the duller parts of his writing. His critics have hardly observed clearly enough that much as his philsophy of life, art and even of language owes to the ancients, the pedant in Jonson was the student of the past, the inspired thinker, the observer of the present. Bookishness was indeed his occasional fault, but the author of the great comedies was one of the liveliest of all lovers of speech.

As a student of language, Jonson became both a great rhetorician and an exact observer. He also had diabolical powers in caricature and parody. Hence he is to be regarded as a pioneer in language study not for his *English Grammar,* interesting as that is, but for his plays. He wrote no formal books on dialects, class distinctions in speech, the language of the professions, speech as expressive of personality, the tone qualities of voices or allied fields. But his plays are effective monuments to his learning and insight into all these domains. Throughout his plays, too, it becomes apparent that while he used books zealously as secondary sources, he assimilated far more through the ear than through the eye. Like all true Elizabethans, he had a passion for the spoken word.

Since we are primarily interested here in his exact observations, it is well to take a preliminary glance at his own art in rhetoric and caricature. As a rule, his plays do not reproduce popular speech; they utilize it to their own ends. Common expressions are incorporated in the most uncommon and artificial flights of rhetoric and outbursts of caricature and parody. Jonson likes to endow all his chief char-

acters with his own prodigious eloquence. They are fond of making long speeches rounded into formal periods. Thus Jonson translating Cicero into blank verse, and Jonson writing speeches for the pig-woman in *Bartholomew Fair,* have much in common. It has often been remarked that his characters are not real people. Of course they are not; and neither do his speeches constitute real talk. On the solid foundations of science he erected the pleasure-house of his art. There is, happily, not a single page of natural dialogue in his works. While Shakspere minted new worlds of language, he achieved a compromise. On the one hand, he was artist enough to transform his material; on the other, he was scientist enough to leave the strongest traces of actuality upon the transformation. On the enduring marble of his own rhetoric he carved the passing speech of the people. For him the theatre became a laboratory of speech.

A further word of introduction is required regarding his use of written and spoken sources. I have observed that he prefers the latter, but by no means neglects the former. The distinction, indeed, becomes at times super-subtle, since, for example, he may either have read or heard a sermon or a play. Where gentlemen attempt to imitate in their talk the dialogue in Lyly, Sidney or Greene, there is no telling precisely what in Jonson parodies the books or the men. In the case of the playwrights the conversation was certainly important, since the attacks of one dramatist upon another in that lively period were more often personal than literary or professional. None the less, it is apparent that Jonson disliked the dramatic style of Marston and Dekker, holding their language up to ridicule. When he gives Dol Common sentences to quote from Broughton's sermons, he expresses his contempt for those pious writings. Even in his plays the author of *Discoveries* shows himself as an esthetic critic. In this book, for instance, he condemns the reckless use of metaphor. The rôle of Carlo Buffone abundantly illustrates this vice. Pedantic speech he ridicules in the rôle of Sir John Daw.

The amused and diligent student of speech is everywhere revealed in his plays. One of the most obvious manifestations is his concern with languages. His characters quote

Latin, Spanish, French and even Greek. In his *Masque of Gypsies* we have snatches of the gypsy language. He gives some attention to dialects and mispronunciation. In *Bartholomew Fair* we encounter a clothier who uses northern forms and a wrestler who employs southern ones. Kentish dialect is used effectively to lend rustic atmosphere to *The Tale of a Tub*. The bawd, Whit, in *Bartholomew Fair,* uses forms now difficult to locate. Haggise and Bristle, two constables in the same play, talk English with a Welsh accent. The sum total of dialect parts in Jonson is not great nor easily studied from the folio text, but it proves indicative of other branches of speech study much more fruitful for the dramatist.

He shows the keenest interest in the usages of the different classes in society. Persons from the country, as Sordido, Sogliardo, Kastrill, Dame Pliant, Stephen and others, are homely in their speech. A staid country gentleman, as Puntarvolo, is depicted as quaint, old-fashioned and over-elegant, clinging primly to the fine manners of a decade or two past. The relatively feeble and insipid speech of illiterate merchants and citizens is finely caricatured in Dapper and Drugger. Courtly and aristocratic language receives severe criticism in rôles such as Saviolina and Fastidious Brisk in *Every Man Out of His Humour,* and Amorphus and his companions in *Cynthia's Revels.* Jonson emphasizes that Morose, eccentric hero of *Epicene,* has learnt his own diffuse eloquence at Court. Courtly speech, such as the dramatist apparently approves may be found in Volpone's conference with Celia, as well, of course, as in many scenes of state in *Catiline* and *Sejanus.* The dramatist's principal harangues fall under two heads: those of passion and those of reason. The former are bookish imitations of the high style of the ancients, which Jonson was not poet enough to sustain. An instance in this field, uncommonly favorable to him, is the oration of Petreius describing the death of Catiline.. As good specimens of his reasoning style one may turn to the speeches of Tiberius and the historian, Cremutius Cordus, before the Senate in *Sejanus.* Such a style as that of Tiberius and Cordus was indicative of the Augustan prose to succeed the Cavalier prose of Jonson's own period.

Peculiarities of speech brought about by professional and

vocational life constitute a still more important phase of the poet's observations. Professional dignity he spares no more than his most eminent successor, Bernard Shaw. He delights in satirical portraits of lawyers—an itch for caricature which caused much friction in his own career. "Well worded and most like an orator", says a character in *Sejanus,* when Afer with his "bloodying tongue" has completed one of his ridiculous periods. A similar fatuous volubility adorns the lines of Voltore in his scene before the court in *Volpone.* The cant of the judiciary also appears in the legalistic phrases of Judge Overdo.

Medicine, reduced to racketeering, gives us the excellent scene in the same play where Volpone impersonates the mountebank. Here Jonson shows pecuniary profit as mother of eloquence. We hear an advertising talk on a fake medicine couched in language not unlike the Book of Revelations. Jonson was later to do much the same thing in other rôles, as that of Subtle in *The Alchemist* and the host of boothkeepers in *Bartholomew Fair.* The canting eloquence of the military profession, where spurious pretenders attempt to cozen their auditors, produces such rôles as Bobadill in *Every Man in His Humour* and Shift in *Every Man Out of His Humour.* Captain Tucca, the liveliest character in *The Poetaster,* is evidently drawn from the life, since Dekker wrote: "But I wonder what language Tucca would have spoke, if honest Captain Hannam had been born without a tongue." Subtle is not only a low cheater but a debased scientist. Jonson hugely relishes the somewhat pornographic imagery of the alchemist's closet. The jargon of sport he studies at considerable length in the part of Knockem, the horse-courser. Every sentence reeks of race-track and stable. But the great ocean of words flowing from the font of religion chiefly arrests the playwright. The finest of Jonson's perceptions of actual speech appear in the rôles of his Puritans, as Ananias, Tribulation Wholesome, Dame Purecraft, and above all, Zeal-of-the-Land Busy. The eloquence is obviously that of the spoken word. No doubt Jonson read the Puritan preachers; but it remains clear that he knew this section of society better by what he heard than by what he read. The force of his phrasing de-

pends upon speech rhythm and tone. "Very likely, exceeding likely, very exceeding likely," roars the prolix Busy as he meditates upon the possibility of Win-the-Fight Littlewit bearing a son endowed with an appetite for Bartholomew pig equal to that of its mother. Jonson takes no end of joy in the mild distortion of the already distorted eloquence of his reforming fellow-citizens.

Still more important for him as a lover of speech is his realization of language as an expression not of locality, class or profession, but of personality. Although most of his rôles are endowed with Jonsonian eloquence, almost every one of them has distinguishing speech characteristics. One needs only to read or hear a sentence or two in order to identify the speaker. This is simply the playwright's way of expounding the text of the long sermon of his life: "Speak that I may know thee; language best showeth the man." One notes the quiet confidence of Face, the smooth insinuations of Subtle yielding on occasions to hysterical shouting, the sneering of Surly, the shrieking of those irate females, Fallace and the parrot-like Lady Pol, the specious fluency of Morose, the vulgar prattle of Otter and his wife, the bombast of Cutbeard, the bastard poetry of Carlo Buffone, the ranting of the mad preacher, Arthur of Bradley (heard in the speeches of the sober preacher Overdo when in disguise), the fulminations of Busy, the waspishness of Wasp, the shrill piping of the child-puppet Dionysius, the vulgar familiarity of Shift and the loud tones of the half-deaf man, Corbaccio. Of special interest is Bartholomew Cokes, hero of *Bartholomew Fair*. This stupid, ill-educated youth always has a repetitious manner, with addictions to certain mild schoolboy oaths. The part is important, not in pointing to any special class, profession or locality, nor even in being of the class of foolish youths. Were a thousand such youths to speak in succession we could easily identify Cokes by his favorite expressions. The rôle became a famous one and well loved by actors. In the drama of the period it is one of the subtlest and most mature studies in characterization through speech. It was the last great rôle of this sort to come from Jonson's pen.

Throughout the preceding paragraph emphasis fell rather

on the manner of speaking than on the words or their pronunciation. And this is the cardinal point regarding Ben Jonson and English speech. He had perhaps the most attentive and appreciative ear that English history records. Everything points to his consciousness of the significance of the sound of the human voice. Indeed he enjoyed a phenomenal ear for all sounds. The musicians with whom he collaborated were among his best friends. No one has written words for music more successfully than the chief author of the Court masques and the poet of "Drink to me only with thine eyes." He fully understood the technique required of the madrigal poet. In his plays he rejoices in stage noises, as the explosion of Subtle's furnace, the mob shouting in *Bartholomew Fair,* and the instrumental tumult, rather than music, brought in to celebrate Morose's wedding. He apparently thought of each character first of all as a way of speaking. The voices of his characters were conceived as so many distinct instruments in the symphony that was his play. No wonder that Richard Strauss has recently made a light opera out of that *sinfonia domestica, The Silent Woman.* The rôle of Epicene affords a good test case. Its point lies in the contrast between her modest whisperings before marriage and her tumultuous clatter thereafter. But more interesting, because more uncommon, is the part of Corbaccio, probably the first deaf person shown on the English stage. This worthy himself is evidently intended to shout and is similarly shouted at by his interlocutors. Moreover, the latter, with perfect impunity, in merely ordinary tones, say the most damaging things about him before his face. Ursula, the pig-woman, is a fountain of foul eloquence, stale as her cheap beer, and Wasp a hatefully insistent, buzzing insect. Morose is entirely a study in speech. He is the man who loves his own voice and hates the voices of all others. How Jonson commonly conceives a part may be seen in the rôle of Puntarvolo in the tavern scene of *Bartholomew Fair.* The dramatist makes it abundantly clear that the proud old knight talks in the driest and most austere tones, in complete contrast to the drunken eloquence of the unfortunate Carlo. Not even satisfied with the sonorous part of Carlo as it stood, Jonson imagines him in the tavern as carrying on an imaginary dialogue ending in a quarrel between two cups on the table before him.

Contrast supplies the essentially dramatic touch, As a successful playwright Jonson was not content merely to create characters through the medium of modulated speech. His medium demanded that he should exhibit them in contrast, and this he proceeded to do upon a veritably heroic scale. It was his pleasure to accent the differences between the speech of man and man. *Bartholomew Fair,* like a comic opera by Mozart, ends with a sublime trio. Here Zeal-of-the-Land Busy has the bass, the irate piping of the puppet Dionysius supplies the treble, while the ordinary voice of the puppet-manager, Leatherhead, affords the mean between them. The scene becomes an ideal specimen of Elizabethan polyphonics. A similar arrangement appears in *The Alchemist,* where Subtle has the treble, Sir Epicure Mammon the bass and Face the mean. Some fine contrapuntal scoring appears in the last scene of *Epicene,* where the barber and the sea-captain, disguised as civil and ecclesiastical lawyers, carry on antiphonal chanting in a medley of English and Latin, punctuated by the pathetic pleading of Morose and the accompaniment of the whole assembly of miscellaneous characters. Jonson provides that the height of the crescendo shall be reached when, like a bursting dam, the three "collegiate ladies" come shrieking unto the scene. Earlier in the play is a simpler but equally artful passage, a duet between Truewit and Morose. For the first half of the scene Morose curses his deceitful barber while Truewit piously confirms all that is said; then, at the turning point, Morose sinks back exhausted, calling for silence. This greatest of blessings Truewit by no means intends to confer upon the old man, and the same rhythms now repeat themselves, Truewit taking up the profaneness while Morose vainly attempts to check a torrent of abuse even fiercer than his own. Thus Jonson makes language a new music, just as Byrd, Gibbons and the Elizabethan composers were making music a new language. This skill became the ultimate esthetic achievment of the chief realist among the Elizabethan dramatists. His plays are vast fugues based upon themes of real speech.

No one has ever been a more enlightened or imaginative student of speech, studied his theme more closely or pursued it with greater pleasure to himself and to others.

While Shakspere conquered new worlds for language, Jonson set the old one in order. He is not only the father to the long line of the scholars of English speech. We can no more say that we study the subject to better purpose than he than that modern composers surpass Bach or modern painters excel Dürer. The precise character of his achievement as regards language has been too little examined not only by readers and playwrights but by linguists. Nor is there any ground why he should receive greater homage in England than in America. Indeed his realistic attitude toward expanding Jacobean English strikingly foreshadows much of the most recent American speech study. And only in a community with a philosophy of language as dynamic as Jonson's can a new Jonson arise.

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THE 17TH CENTURY FOLIOS

The Modern Language Association of America is to be congratulated on the publication of one of the most scholarly books relating to Shakspere in the year 1937. In their book, *Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors,** Doctors Matthew W. Black and Matthias A. Shaaber, both of the University of Pennsylvania, have performed a service to Shaksperian scholarship of incalculable value both for its completeness, thoroughness, and accuracy. No scholar interested in establishing the genuine text of any passage in a Shaksperian play can possibly ignore this book. Even a general reader, interested in scientific method, will find it worth his while to read the preliminary matter carefully, even if he learns from it only how easily erroneous statements about scholarly matters have their origin and with what vitality they continue to obstruct the ascertainment of the truth.

**Shakespeare's Seventeenth-Century Editors, 1632-1685,* by M. W. Black & M. A. Shaaber, 1937, pp. xii, 420; $3.

EDITORIAL NOTES

By S. A. T.

NEW SHAKSPERE SIGNATURES

On January 20th of this year the New York *Times* carried an announcement of "another signature" of William Shakspere which had been discovered somewhere by a friend of Professor B. Roland Lewis of the University of Utah. The signature is said to read "William Shakspere" and to be on a piece of paper "eight by two inches, apparently cut off an old document." The report, saturated with errors, went on to say that Professor Lewis had given "the sheared-off piece of manuscript" nineteen months of study, including chemical, microscopical and photographic analyses, and had concluded that the person who had written the "six definitely known" Shakspere signatures also wrote this one.

Even without having seen this alleged signature or a facsimile of it, we are ready to express our conviction that it is *in all probability* either a forgery, a hoax, or an innocent imitation, and not a genuine Shakspere autograph. The arguments urged by Professor Lewis for its authenticity, as reported in the *Times,* prove nothing, absolutely nothing. Genuine paper of the early seventeenth century is easily obtainable. Books of that period are easily obtainable which have one or more partially or wholly blank fly-leaves; old documents are easily purchasable from which smaller or larger pieces of paper or parchment may be cut by a person planning to perpetrate a forgery. A visitor to the Folger Library, or the Library of Congress, or one of the university libraries, can easily cut off a margin from a leaf in an old book if he plans to fabricate a forged "signature"; and so forth. Ink of Shakspere's day cannot be differentiated from some modern inks. The exact composition of Elizabethan and Jacobean inks is known and can be easily duplicated. Quill pens are easily obtainable today. The absence of pencil marks under the ink proves nothing; a single signature, especially one written so slowly and carefully (comparatively speaking) as Shakspere's, can be easily imitated after a little practice.

A new Shakspere signature must be regarded as spurious if it is not an integral part of a document or book with a history free from suspicious circumstances. Shakspere's seven (not six) known signatures are part and parcel of legal documents of unquestioned validity and of a copy of Montaigne's *Essays* which was known to be in existence before Steevens and Ireland played their malicious pranks. It is utterly incredible that any person in the eighteenth, nineteenth or twentieth centuries would have been so stupid as to cut a Shakspere signature from a genuine deed, mortgage, letter, receipt, book, etc., and throw the rest—the authenticating part of the document—away. This consideration *per se* is sufficient ground for not accepting as genuine a purported signature on a sheared-off piece of paper. This attitude is further justified by the reflection that a forgery of a signature is very much easier than of a long document. A long forgery involves a knowledge of palæography, spelling, grammar, semantics, history, etc.,—matters which have led to the exposure of the most expert forgers.

A point which deserves mention is this: books containing forged Shakspere autographs made by William H. Ireland keep turning up in the book auctions every now and then. Some of these may get into the hands of unscrupulous persons who would not hesitate to cut the "signature" out of

the book and attempt to sell it to a gullible collector, an innocent scholar, or an enthusiastic librarian.

In conclusion we may add that the above remarks apply not only to the "signature" now sponsored by Professor Lewis but also to the alleged Shakspere signature recently discovered in a scrap-book in San Francisco and now owned (and apparently cherished) by Leland Stanford University. Study of photographs (including an enlargement) of this signature has confirmed us in our prior suspicion of its spuriousness!

HELP, ANGELS!

Some of our members may recall that at various times these pages acknowledged our indebtedness to the Carnegie Corporation for grants of funds enabling us to publish our annual bibliographies. Upon the death of Dr. Thorndike, the Corporation renewed its grant with great reluctance and with the assurance that there would be no further grants. Our Association's treasury now holds a balance of $544.53 of Carnegie money. With the publication of the 1938 January and April issues of the BULLETIN—two issues largely devoted to bibliography—none of this money will be left. The annual dues paid by the members are not sufficient to cover the cost of printing and distributing the four quarterly issues of our BULLETIN. What this means is, therefore, that unless the Carnegie Corporation or someone else will endow the Association with a thousand dollars a year, we shall have to reduce the size of the BULLETIN to 32 pages per issue or publish only two numbers a year. Either of these courses would not only make it impossible for us to publish the many interesting and scholarly articles on Shaksperian and other Elizabethan topics which we now have on hand and which are being sent us, but would also terminate our hope of enlarging the scope and usefulness of our magazine. In this connection we may be permitted to say that a large percentage of our subscribers are university libraries throughout the world, —significant testimony of the value of our publication.

We, therefore, make this appeal for financial assistance by some individual, group or association. In making this appeal, we think it not superfluous to add that no person connected with the publication of the BULLETIN, except the printer and the firm which attends to the stamping and mailing, is paid even a penny for his services.

MEMBERS OF OUR CAUSE

In the preceding paragraph we made no mention of another way of assuring the continuance of our BULLETIN in its present size and discharging its present function, to wit: by the enrollment of a large number of new paying members. Five hundred would answer the immediate purpose. In a country of a population of 120,000,000, having several hundred thousand teachers, there ought to be no difficulty in finding 500 to 1,000 new members in an association dedicated to the promotion of an interest in the work of the greatest poet and dramatist of all time, the one writer whose works can always be read with delight and profit. To secure this number every member ought to write to his friends, to his ex-teachers, or to his associates and urge them to join the Association. To help in this matter we will gladly send a sample copy of our BULLETIN, together with a membership blank, to anyone whose name and address you will send us.